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A PROTEST

AGAINST

T. PAINE's "Rights of Man:"

ADDRESSED TO THE

MEMBERS

OF A

BOOK SOCIETY,

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE

VOTE OF THEIR COMMITTEE FOR INCLUDING THE ABOVE WORK IN A LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS RESOLVED TO BE PURCHASED FOR THE USE OF THE SOCIETY.

"HAVOCK AND SPOIL AND RUIN ARE MY GAIN." MILTON.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF

THE SOCIETY FOR PRESERVING LIBERTY AND PROPERTY AGAINST REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS,

HELD AT THE

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, STRAND,

LONDON;

CANTERBURY,

PRINTED BY SIMMONS, KIRKBY AND JONES.

1793.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN a populous Village in this Kingdom a conſiderable number of the Inhabitants have formed themſelves into a BOOK SOCIETY, whereof a Committee is annually choſen for the purpoſe of ſelecting ſuch Books as they may think proper to be circulated among the Society at large. At a Meeting of this Committee one of the Members thereof propoſed the publication entitled "RIGHTS OF MAN." Another Member reſiſted ſtrenuouſly the choice of a Book, which he conſidered as an inſidious addreſs, under a fictitious and enſnaring title, to weak heads and to bad hearts; as replete with indecency and ſcurrility, and as dictated by a deſire of involving a free and happy Country in confuſion and ruin. Being, however, unſucceſsful in his oppoſition, and being alſo unwilling that the Society ſhould ſuppoſe him to have concurred in ſubmitting ſuch a Book to their peruſal, he felt

felt it due to himself to PROTEST against the Vote which he had in vain endeavoured to prevent, and to assign at large the reasons on which such PROTEST was founded. These reasons, deduced from the obvious design and tendency of the work in question, are detailed in the following sheets, and appear in their original and genuine form of an Address to the Society. And he flatters himself, that his conduct on this occasion will be found to contain an useful moral, deserving the attention of those, who in similar situations, and with similar sentiments and dispositions, *suffer their regard for the public welfare to be surprised into inactivity or supineness, or vanquished by a dread of appearing singular.*

It is but justice to add, that nothing is further from the design of the Writer of this PROTEST than to insinuate, that the rest of the Committee were induced to vote for the Book in question from any approbation of its contents. He knows that they held the doctrines and the designs of Mr. PAINE in abhorrence; but zealously, and indeed laudably attached to a principle of free discussion, and fearful of even appearing hostile to the exercise of a right so essential to the existence of social Liberty, they suffered themselves (perhaps incautiously, but with the best intentions) to promote the circulation of a work which endeavours to convert the invaluable privilege of a free Press into an instrument of destruction to the State.

In the Advertisement to the Second Part of "The Rights of Man," the vain Author makes his boast of the extensive and numerous distribution of the copies of the First Part, and he seems to infer from thence that the sense of the Public is in his favour. How erroneous is such an inference! A book so remarkably distinguished for wild extravagance, consummate audacity, and daring insolence, as, "The Rights of Man," could not fail to engage a certain degree of public attention, upon the same principle that the exhibition of a monstrous animal production will excite notice and attract gazers in proportion to the hideous deformity of the spectacle. But those who judge of the merit of a book from its progress into notoriety, will frequently find themselves mistaken. Indeed it is not unusual for the merit and the circulation to be in an inverse proportion to each other. The "PARADISE LOST" rose by very slow degrees into notice; but publications that inflame the passions, the lascivious account of a Trial for *Crim. Con.* or an incendiary production exciting to public disorder, are almost sure to throng the Bookseller's shop with eager enquirers At length, however, distributive Justice *is sure* to prevail. The work of Merit, rising by degrees into estimation, survives the age in which it first appears, and conveys the author's fame to the latest posterity; while the coarse, malignant, and inflammatory stuff, despised from the first by the wise and good, sinks much more rapidly into oblivion, which, with regard to such productions, is happily

"A bourn from which no traveller returns."

Mr. PAINE, however, most ungratefully omits to acknowledge the patronage of those benevolent coadjutors in the same cause, whose liberality and exertions have chiefly contributed to the boasted multiplication of his copies, and who, by generous and pressing *donations*, have

have procured the acceptance thereof by numbers who could never have been perſuaded to make the acquiſition on any other terms. Unfortunately, this gratuitous mode of diſtribution is apt to ſuggeſt an idea, that what is ſo diſpenſed is of very inſignificant value (like the benediction in the Fable, which was beſtowed after the ſmalleſt pecuniary donation had been withheld); and an idea of this ſort is a prodigious check to the peruſal of a book ſo acquired: the generous circulation therefore of the far greater part of our Author's copies is probably of *immediate* convenience in divers retail branches of trade. But although for theſe reaſons the diſtribution of Mr. PAINE's writings be a very fallacious criterion of the number of his readers, one thing is clear, that, be that number great or ſmall, the generality of them would be highly gratified by ſeeing his pamphlets *lighted* into proper notice, and the Author himſelf *elevated* to a ſtation of diſtinguiſhed eminence, in the midſt of ſurrounding and exulting multitudes.

There ſeems to be but very little occaſion to travel out of the "Rights of Man" in order to aſcertain the real motives of the Author; and an Engliſhman muſt have a wonderful propenſity to confound his friends and his foes, who does not diſcover in that work a ſteady and deliberate plan to ſap and undermine the happineſs and proſperity of Great Britain. But in order to be thoroughly acquainted with a man's ſentiments and views, it is uſeful to trace his language and his conduct through different periods, and to render him thereby explanatory of himſelf. If we apply this rule to Mr. PAINE, it will appear, that he has not only been long actuated by, but that he formerly gloried in avowing, an implacable animoſity and rooted hatred to this country; and *that* not merely to its Government, but to its intereſts, its welfare, its national character, its national honour, its commercial and naval greatneſs. It is well known, that, born a Britiſh ſubject, but deſtitute of thoſe qualities which are calculated to attract eſteem and command ſucceſs in this country, he conveyed himſelf, without the aſſiſtance of legal interpoſition, to America, about the commencement of our diſpute with the Colonies. The character he took with him was not calculated to advance him above a very low ſtation, in which he firſt appeared; but the marked malevolence he teſtified againſt his native land could not fail to be grateful to his new connections, who were then in that ſituation which renders the Treaſon acceptable, even though the Traitor be deteſted. Thus, in violation of his natural allegiance, he ſtrained every nerve to encreaſe the animoſity then ſubſiſting between the Mother-country and her Colonies, and to prevent any accommodation from taking place. His pen was conſtantly employed during the war in widening the breach which all good Engliſhmen ſincerely deplored, and in promoting that final ſeparation between England and America, which was then conſidered as an event the moſt fatal that could poſſibly happen to the former Country*. Had Experience realized this apprehenſion

* By a pamphlet entitled "COMMON SENSE," and by an occaſional paper ſtyled "THE CRISIS," he laboured during the war to fan the flame of diſcord, and to indiſpoſe the Americans from again recogniſing Engliſhmen as brethren; and in a Letter

prehenſion,— had the loſs of America been attended with ruin to the greatneſs and proſperity of England—had the Sun of Britain's Glory then indeed "ſet for ever,"—we ſhould probably have ſeen no more of Mr. THOMAS PAINE, except he had paid us a curſory viſit to inſult our diſtreſs, and to glut his malice with a view of our calamity; and finding us ſufficiently miſerable, his ſatisfaction had been complete, and the "Rights of Man" would have been unknown for ever, unleſs, in purſuit of the only repoſe congenial to his diſpoſition, the Author had accommodated that work to diſturb the felicity of ſome happier clime, or to leſſen, if poſſible, the general ſum of human happineſs. But the unexpected, the unexampled, the daily-increaſing proſperity of Great Britain, the harmony, the loyalty, and the happineſs of its inhabitants, furniſhed a diſappointment too ſevere to be endured with any degree of compoſure. Theſe

ter to the Abbé Raynal, written after the Independence of America had been acknowledged, he ſtill diſplayed the ſame deep-rooted and invincible enmity to Great Britain. A few extracts from theſe writings will ſerve materially to explain his motives in wiſhing ſo anxiouſly to meddle with our concerns.---In his COMMON SENSE he ſays, "Men of paſſive tempers look ſomewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, ſtill ho-"ping for the beſt; and are apt to call out, Come, come, we ſhall be friends again for "all this. But let us examine the paſſions and feelings of mankind; bring the doctrine "of reconciliation to the touchſtone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can "hereafter love, honour, and faithfully ſerve the power that hath carried fire and "ſword into your land." Page 38.

"To talk of friendſhip with thoſe in whom our reaſon forbids us to have faith, "and our affections, wounded through a thouſand pores, inſtruct us to deteſt, is "madneſs and folly.---The laſt cord is now broken, the people of England are pre-"ſenting addreſſes againſt us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; ſhe "would ceaſe to be nature if ſhe did. As well can the lover forgive the raviſher of his "miſtreſs, as the Continent of America forgive THE MURDRERS of BRI-"TAIN. The Almighty hath implanted in us theſe unextinguiſhable feelings to good "and wiſe purpoſes." Page 52.

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So ſeveral years after, in his "Letter to the Abbe Raynal," he ſhews that the ſame enmity to Great Britain ſtill rankled in his breaſt; and that it was founded not in any ſenſe of injury, but in a deteſtation of the qualities of the Engliſh people. Thus he ſays, "If we take a review of what part Britain has acted, we ſhall find every thing "which ought to make a nation bluſh; the moſt vulgar abuſe accompanied by that "ſpecies of haughtineſs which diſtinguiſhes the hero of a mob from the character of "a gentleman. It was equally from her manners as from her injuſtice that ſhe loſt "her colonies." Page 8.

So after expatiating upon "that greatneſs of character, and that ſuperiority of "heart which had marked the conduct of France in her conqueſts," upon "the rival "eminence of the confederates, and the lenity of America," he ſays, "It is England "only who has been inſolent and cruel."---And again, "A mind habituated to "meanneſs and injuſtice commits them without reflection." Page 52.---And again, "From Holland, ſhe (Britain) expected duplicity and ſubmiſſion, and this miſtake "aroſe from her having acted in a number of inſtances during the preſent war in the "ſame character herſelf. To be allied to, or connected with Britain, ſeems to be an "unſafe and impolitic ſituation. Make Holland and America her own allies, and ſhe "will inſult and plunder them." P. 54.---"A total reformation is wanted in Eng-"land. She wants an expanded mind." Page 56.---"It may be clearly ſeen, that the "ſtrength of France has never yet been tried on a navy; and that SHE IS ABLE TO "BE AS SUPERIOR TO ENGLAND IN THE EXTENT OF A NAVY, AS "SHE IS IN THE EXTENT OF HER REVENUES AND HER POPULA-"TION; and England may lament the day, when by her inſolence and injuſtice ſhe "provoked in France a maritime diſpoſition." Page 64.---He then throws out ſome hints for the demolition of the Britiſh Navy.

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were ſcenes which harrowed up the ſoul of the envious and malignant *Fiend*, who, like his *progenitor*, bent his courſe to this Paradiſe of the globe, eager to deſtroy that felicity which it was not in his nature either to partake of or endure.

It is difficult, under any circumſtances, to find pity for thoſe, whoſe character, conduct, and deſigns, merit only execration; and yet one can hardly refuſe to commiſerate the extreme ſeverity of their diſappointment, who build their hopes upon the ſucceſs of theſe fictitious "Rights of Man" in this country. That ſucceſs has been exactly ſuch as was merited, and as might reaſonably have been expected. Indignation at the deſign, deteſtation of the Author's character, and contempt for his performance, conſtitute the public ſentiment upon this occaſion.—And at length JUSTICE, with ſlow but ſteady pace, ſeems advancing to gratify the univerſal wiſh, by vindicating the inſulted dignity of the country.

The good ſenſe of the Engliſh People is no more to be deluded *by artifice* than their vigour is to be vanquiſhed *by force*. They are not to be perſuaded to part with the ſubſtance for the ſhadow. They can diſtinguiſh between the ſincere and honeſt advice of rational friends, and the wily enſnaring addreſſes of inſidious foes. They can detect treachery, and defeat malice. They are not ſo ſhort-ſighted as to believe, that in 1792 the man would counſel them to their good, who a few years before was labouring at their deſtruction. And ſenſible that under the friendly influence of their moſt excellent Conſtitution, and of the happieſt poſſible form of Government, they not only enjoy the greateſt degree of perſonal freedom, as well as of perſonal ſecurity, that can exiſt in ſociety, but have alſo riſen, within the ſhort ſpace of eight years, from penury to affluence, and from deep and accumulated diſtreſs to great and unexampled proſperity; rejoiced alſo that the fruits of theſe great and manifold advantages have already begun to appear in an alleviation of their burthens, they are not to be induced to ſtop the career of their greatneſs, and to replunge into a ſtate of confuſion and calamity worſe even than that from which they have ſo happily emerged.

A PROTEST, &c.

Addreſſed to the Members of a Book Society.

HAVING been unſucceſsful in my endeavours, as a Member of your Committee, to prevent the introduction of Mr. Paine's "Rights of Man" into the Society, I conſider it as due to myſelf, as well as a proper mark of reſpect to the Society at large, thus to enter my Proteſt againſt the Vote by which it was reſolved to preſent that book to your inſpection. My wiſh is, to obviate the ſuppoſition that I concurred in ſuch a reſolution; but, leſt I ſhould be thought to object on trivial grounds, I feel it incumbent upon me to aſſign at large the reaſons upon which my Proteſt is founded.

In the firſt place, I cannot reconcile it to *my own* feelings to contribute in *any* degree to the circulation of a work, the palpable deſign

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of which is to disturb the tranquility and invade the happiness of the State; and which appears to be solely intended to excite disaffection towards Government, to stimulate the people to sedition and rebellion, and to involve this free and happy country in scenes of confusion and anarchy.

I should also consider myself as guilty of an insult upon *your* feelings, were I to put into your hands a work containing a most indecent and malignant attack upon that CONSTITUTION which is deservedly your pride and boast as Britons, and which preserves inviolate your rights and privileges as free citizens; a Constitution obtained by the glorious struggles of your ancestors—founded upon experience—matured by time—which has stood the test of ages—the essence of which is social liberty—the scope of which is social happiness;—in short, a Constitution which you enjoy as your inestimable birth-right, which calls for your gratitude to its venerable founders, and which it is your bounden duty to transmit unimpaired to posterity.

If a book of which the tendency is generally admitted to be immoral and dissolute, were proposed in your Society, every Member of it would spurn at the idea of its being submitted to your notice. And can any publication be in effect more grosly or destructively vicious and immoral, than one which tempts to a violation of the important duties of subjects—which tends to disturb the public order—to weaken or dissolve the bands which, by connecting Government and People, keep Society together—to withdraw that respect to the ruling powers which is prescribed both by reason and religion—to diminish the authority of the laws, and thereby to remove the restraints which are necessary to controul the passions of mankind—and finally, to sacrifice domestic tranquility and national prosperity for intestine commotions and civil discord?

If a plan were published for the purpose of instructing and encouraging evil-disposed persons to set fire to the habitations of individuals, who would assist in the propagation of so detestable a scheme? Shall we favour then the attempts, shall we patronize or encourage the efforts of an incendiary, who aims at the conflagration of that noble and valuable edifice the common and comfortable dwelling of us all, while under its friendly and hospitable roof we participate with harmony and affection the transcendant enjoyments of a firmly-united and a well-regulated family?

While, however, I decline to take a part in disseminating sedition and treason, I am a real friend to fair and candid discussion, which, instead of being hostile, must always prove favourable to the British Constitution. But the disquisitions of Mr. Paine are by no means of this description. Under the mask of discussion, they really point to action, and that of the most pernicious and criminal nature—they lead not to any practicable good, but to turbulence and general commotion. If they were to have their desired effect, the Constitution would be annihilated; our lives, our liberties, and our property, would be deprived of legal protection; Government would be overturned; and in vain might we look into the darksome void of futurity to catch even a faint and dubious glimpse of security against unbridled licentiousness and unrestrained violence.

It may be said, perhaps, that if Mr. Paine's doctrines be not

founded in reaſon, their being propagated will but expoſe them to refutation; but who would diſtribute poiſon for the ſake of the antidote? Such doctrines, although fallacious and ſophiſtical in the extreme, nay, although in a great meaſure they carry their own refutation along with them, may, nevertheleſs, among perſons of particular deſcriptions, and on whom they are chiefly deſigned to operate, produce the moſt miſchievous impreſſions. They are not, indeed, calculated to produce this effect upon ſtrong, experienced, and well-informed minds; they are framed for the meridian of thoſe underſtandings which are not accuſtomed to weigh and to diſcriminate; and which are ever ready, from indolence, weakneſs, or inexperience, to receive ſuch impreſſions.

Theſe diſquiſitions are alſo adapted to operate upon the reſtleſſneſs inherent in man; and they proceed upon the ungenerous principle, that human nature is a fertile ſoil for the cultivation of diſcontent: but more eſpecially do they ſeem to be prompted by the baſe conſideration, that it is eaſy to infuſe diſſatisfaction into the minds of thoſe who occupy the lower ſtations in Society, and that it requires but little addreſs or ingenuity to inſpire ſuch perſons with diſguſt and envy, and to convince them that the gradation of rank, which is indiſpenſable to order, and founded indeed in nature, is an infringement on their rights. Schemes of unattainable equality cannot fail to be grateful to thoſe who have but a very ſmall portion of the goods of fortune, who are eaſily led to believe that the diſparity which is inſeparable from the nature of Society, is an evil and an injuſtice to which they ought not to ſubmit. Inſtead of promoting contentment and chearful induſtry, ſo beneficial to the individual and the community—inſtead of pointing out the advantages which are peculiar to each ſtation, and which prove, that, notwithſtanding an apparent inequality, the balance is poiſed with impartial juſtice—inſtead of diſplaying virtue as the only ſource of real felicity, it is the object of the modern "Rights of Man" to create reſtleſſneſs and diſſatisfaction, and to perſuade mankind, that they ſuffer injuries which they do not perceive, that they ſuſtain hardſhips which they do not feel, that their comforts are viſionary and their happineſs mere deluſion; in ſhort, theſe doctrines find men happy, prevail on them to believe that they are not ſo, and in the end render them miſerable.

Such attempts are, indeed, not more pernicious than abſurd—not more deſtructive of the general good than unfriendly to the real intereſts of thoſe whoſe welfare they artfully profeſs to have in view: for by endeavouring to remove a due ſubordination, and to create contention between the ſeveral Orders of which Society is compoſed, they tend to deſtroy the harmony and co-operation of the whole, and to produce evils which would fall heavieſt on the lower claſſes, which have the feweſt reſources, and are unavoidably the moſt dependant. It would be juſt as rational to attempt to perſuade the Feet, that conſidering their importance and utility, they ought not to ſubmit to thoſe offices which are aſſigned them—that it is a hardſhip and an injuſtice for them to be obliged to wade through the dirt, and to bear the weight of the whole body—that they are entitled to ſome nobler capacity, ſome more elevated ſtation—that having nerves as well as the Head (the pretended ſeat of intelligence), their opinions ought to be taken, their will conſulted, and themſelves admitted

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into the council; and that they ought, in maintenance of their rights, to rebel againſt the ſubſiſting inequality of arrangement, and refuſe to perform their accuſtomed works of drudgery.

But abſurd as theſe doctrines really are, that abſurdity is, for the reaſon I have mentioned, no ſufficient ſecurity againſt their progreſs. It is therefore rendering Society a ſervice to detect and expoſe their fallacy—to point out the wicked intent from which they proceed, and the miſchievous, nay ruinous conſequences to which they tend. To do this, is to conſult not merely the welfare of the preſent age, but that alſo of poſterity. For it is a favourite object with the abettors of theſe deluſive ſyſtems of pretended rights, to poiſon the tender minds of generous and unſuſpecting youth—to take the judgment by ſurpriſe—to warp the reaſon while it is in its progreſs towards maturity—and to imprint injurious impreſſions at a period when they are moſt likely to be rendered indelible. By ſuch means it is endeavoured to lay a foundation for diſturbances in future generations, in caſe the preſent age, under the influence of good education and good habits, ſhould be ſo fortunate as to defeat the machinations of ſedition.

But, in addition to all theſe conſiderations, it is to be remembered, that the doctrines I allude to are particularly intended to unite and call into action the unprincipled and turbulent part of mankind, the common peſts of Society, who are ever ready to ſecond any attempts which lead to tumult and diſorder. Deſperate, ambitious, and malignant, their views are promoted, or their feelings gratified, by ſcenes of riot and confuſion, and they depend for their harveſt upon the convulſons of kingdoms and empires. Men of this deſcription diſlike nothing ſo much as the reſtraints of law and decorum. Their wiſhes are thwarted by the controul of any Government which has vigour enough to protect the good from the attacks of the bad, to repel the incurſions of violence and licentiouſneſs, and to keep Society together in a firm and compact band of union. Such perſons, who from the nature of their diſpoſitions and purſuits are abundantly more watchful and active than the friends of Order, are obliged to anybody who will furniſh them with a ſhadow of a pretext for raiſing a clamour againſt imaginary defects in any part of the exiſting Government: they flock to a Declaration of abſurd, fictitious, and impracticable Rights, as to a Manifeſto of Rebellion or a Standard of Revolt—happy in an occaſion to blow the flame which may catch all that is combuſtible in a State—thrice happy to find a head, whether a TYLER, a CADE, or a CATILINE, who may lead them to the attack, or may give conſiſtence and effect to their conſpiracies.

Thus, upon the whole, are the modern "Rights of Man" intended to take advantage of all that is weak and of all that is wicked in Society; of the failings and the vices, of the worſt paſſions and the baſeſt propenſities of mankind: thus are they deſigned to collect into a focus the turbulent and the diſaffected: they tend to embitter the labourer's toil, and to infuſe the poiſon of diſcontent into his invigorating draughts, which were wont to ſupport him cheerfully under his fatigues: and, adapted by their coarſe and ſuperficial reaſonings to minds entirely uncultivated, which are unuſed to the detection of fallacy, and unable to trace cauſes to effects, they form

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a catechiſm of ſedition and diſloyalty for the lower orders of the people.

Theſe are the conſiderations which have made me ſo eagerly oppoſe the circulation of a work which in ſo many ways tends to produce the moſt pernicious effects. I admit indeed that its impreſſion is not likely to be general, becauſe, fortunately, it is not ſo eaſy a matter as theſe incendiaries vainly ſuppoſe, to induce a Nation to part with ſubſtantial felicity and rational freedom: their nefarious attempts, however, keep Society in a ſtate of ferment and agitation, give uneaſineſs to the virtuous and well-diſpoſed, and tend to weaken the beneficial energies of Government. Inſtead, therefore, of being encouraged in any degree, they ought, by all poſſible means, to be diſcountenanced by all real friends to their country; and if we cannot wholly prevent the miſchievous induſtry with which ſuch doctrines are propagated, we ought at leaſt, on our part, to be equally diligent in endeavouring to counteract its effects. *Why ſhould a good cauſe inſpire leſs vigour or leſs activity than a bad one? Why ſhould the adherents of the Conſtitution be leſs zealous than its foes? Why ſhould the well-diſpoſed be leſs vigilant, or leſs animated, than thoſe of a contrary deſcription? The ſtrongeſt fortreſs muſt fall, if the garriſon, ſupinely depending upon the ſtrength of the walls, neglect to repel the aſſailants.* It ought not to ſatisfy the minds of good citizens, to leave to Government the whole taſk of preſerving the public tranquility. It is on every account to be deſired, that the extraordinary interpoſition of the public force for the maintenance of order ſhould be but ſeldom reſorted to. The neceſſity of ſuch interference would be generally prevented, if individuals were to exert themſelves within the ſphere of their influence, and endeavour to check cauſes inſtead of waiting for effects; if they would overawe and diſcourage the common diſturbers of ſociety by a marked deteſtation of their characters, and by a ſteady and unremitting watchfulneſs of their meaſures and deſigns. The odium attached to vice furniſhes perhaps a more general check to its progreſs than even the penalties of the law.

To explain more particularly the general reaſoning which I have already urged, we need only appeal ſhortly to ſome few paſſages of Mr. Paine's work.

Mr. Paine, in both the Firſt and Second Parts of his RIGHTS OF MAN, begins, very judiciouſly, with preparing the way for that ſyſtem of deſtruction which it is the object of both to introduce. The grand obſtacles in the way of his deſigns are LAWS and GOVERNMENT: it was therefore very neceſſary, as a preparatory ſtep, to weaken theſe impediments, by withdrawing or diminiſhing as much as poſſible the reſpect which mankind uſually poſſeſs for ſuch inſtitutions. Accordingly, in the commencement of his Firſt Part, our Author endeavours to eſtabliſh, as a fundamental principle, that the preſent age or generation is not at all bound by any act of preceding times, and that all laws and inſtitutions heretofore made and eſtabliſhed are now deſtitute of all binding authority. This, it muſt be owned, is no injudicious ſtep in purſuit of his grand object; for if he could but get rid of the authority of all ſocial regulations which have not been actually introduced in the preſent day, very little would remain to check the progreſs of his wiſhes and undertakings.

Such reaſoning is, however, the moſt abſurd and nonſenſical that ever came from the pen of any writer. Mankind is not really ſuſceptible of any ſuch diviſion as that of ages and generations. The tranſactions of the world are, indeed, for the ſake of convenience and hiſtorical preciſion, claſſed under certain periodical denominations of time; but the race of men, like a ſtream, is perpetually running off and perpetually ſupplied afreſh; its continuity is preſerved unbroken from year to year, and from century to century. There is no point, line, or boundary, at which one generation can be ſaid to terminate and another commence: at every moment ſome are commenceing the career of exiſtence, while others are going off the courſe. This uninterrupted chain of human exiſtence preſerves a correſpondent connection in human affairs. Society is thus held conſtantly together, and knows nothing, in its aggregate capacity, of that mortality which is the attribute of the individuals who compoſe it. Of courſe the obligation of the *laws* by which Society is regulated, is neceſſarily as uniform as the exiſtence of Society itſelf: neither the death of the Legiſlator nor of his contemporaries can diſſolve or weaken their force. The Laws are not made to bind any particular ſet of individuals, but the community at large, of whomſoever it may be compoſed. We are born under ſubjection to them, as well as under their protection. The legiſlative authority exerciſed a hundred years ago is of preciſely the ſame force with regard to ourſelves as that exerciſed yeſterday; and the Laws made in our own time are in no ſenſe more compulſory than the ſubſiſting Laws enacted by our forefathers. The latter are even rendered more venerable by their antiquity. No Legiſlature can indeed infringe upon the powers of a ſubſequent one. There always exiſts the ſame right to repeal, as well as the ſame obligation to obey, till that right be properly exerciſed. Society is at every period of time poſſeſſed of the ſame powers, and its right to annul a law of the laſt year, or of the laſt century, ſtands exactly upon the ſame ground. Thus while the continued obligation of the Laws, till regularly repealed by the ſupreme authority, is neceſſary to the order, the harmony, and indeed the exiſtence of a State; the right exiſting equally at all times to abrogate and to alter as well as to enact, preſerves the conſtant independence of Society, and renders il at all times equally free. It is therefore the groſſeſt ſophiſtry in Mr. Paine to contend, that the authority of the Parliament of 1688, or of any prior Parliament, is ſuperſeded by lapſe of time. We continue to recognize ſuch authority; we continue thereby to reap the fruits of the wiſdom then exerciſed; and we are, nevertheleſs, as free and as independent as the people of that age. So the authority of modern Parliaments will, in like manner, be binding upon Poſterity, without encroaching upon its freedom.——So much for Mr. Paine's endeavour to undermine the authority of the Laws.

A ſecond grand object of this Writer is to perſuade mankind, that Government itſelf is almoſt uſeleſs and unneceſſary. Accordingly he tells us, in Part II. page 8, that "Government is no farther ne-"ceſſary than to ſupply the few caſes to which ſociety and civiliza-"tion are not conveniently competent:" that "The abolition of "any formal Government, far from being the diſſolution of ſo-

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" ciety, brings it closer together:" that " Formal Government " makes but a small part of civilized life; and, whenever the best " that human wisdom can desire is established, it is a thing more in " name and in idea than in fact:" and page 10, that " It is but " few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such " common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the form " of Government or not, the effect will be the same*."

But surely it is not possible that such trash (which I have only quoted in order ro point out the cloven foot, and expose the design and the extent of our author's doctrines) can raise a film before the understanding, and obscure the real, the efficient, the universal operation of Government, as maintaining the union of Society, and affording to each individual the only possible source of protection, in all the relations and in all the situations in which he can be supposed to exist.

Society is a state where the compulsory obligation of laws is interposed to guard the enjoyment of those rights which are properly recognized and defined, from passion, violence, and injustice. It is plain, that these laws cannot be made and enforced without some adequate authority. And what is that authority but government? which, as it superintends the whole, and every part, is necessarily supreme. In what condition, in what occupation, in what retirement, is not the agency of this power to be traced? And what can possibly be substituted in its place? It is the only source of all protection and of all security, and alone enables us to enjoy the gifts of fortune and the fruits of industry. It does not indeed furnish the vegetative principle by which the corn grows, nor does it bestow the genial warmth that matures the fruit of the vineyard; but it extends its guardian care over the swelling ear and the ripening cluster; it protects the labours of the husbandman, and defends the harvest and the vintage from rapine and depredation.

The doctrine of Mr. Paine, that Government is of very limited importance and utility, is confuted not only by the plainest dictates of common sense, but also by the daily experience of common life. Do we not find that every inferior association of mankind calls of necessity for some connecting and controuling authority? By what other means are the domestic concerns of a private family (the most natural type, and perhaps the original foundation of society at large) to be preserved from confusion and ruin? What a scene would the application of equalizing principles produce in a domestic establishment? Do not the common interests of every parish require the management, direction, and control, of a government within itself? Nay (to descend to instances almost below the gravity and importance of the subject), will our author assert, that in the highest state of exhilaration which he ever experienced in those fashionable convivial meetings (commonly denominated Clubs), he ever proposed to his

* The example of the American States, during the war, is quoted, in order to prove that Society can exist without Government. But in a time of civil war, when a country is covered with armies, though its government be in a manner suspended, for 'inter arma silent leges', yet the very state of hostilities compresses the people into compactness and subordination, and the civil government is only merged in the necessarily more vigorous and more unlimited controul of military power.

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free and animated aſſociates to relieve themſelves from the irkſome authority of the chair? Ten or twenty equals, aſſimilated by their diſpoſitions and habits, cannot aſſemble for any particular purpoſe, and ſcarcely to eat and drink together, without a Preſident, Chairman, or Head, to preſerve order and decorum. But, if we are to credit the wonderful diſcoveries of Modern Philoſophy, ten or twenty millions of all ranks, habits, and diſpoſitions, aſſociated for the protection of unnumbered complex intereſts, and for the preſervation of multifarious rights, have but little occaſion for ſuch aſſiſtance; and with them the beſt Government "that human wiſdom can deviſe, is a thing more in name and idea than in fact!!!"

Mr. Paine himſelf, however, ſeems to conſider this ground as ſo deſperate that he ſoon quits it, and commences his attack in a different manner. He ſeems to recollect that the world in general are not only convinced of the neceſſity of ſome Government, but that it is eſſential to the happineſs of any country, that the functions of Government ſhould be exerciſed according to certain eſtabliſhed forms and rules; which, without crippling its operation, and depriving it of its eſſential energy, may furniſh powerful checks againſt the exertion of its powers for the purpoſes of oppreſſion. Theſe checks have hitherto been ſuppoſed to exiſt in the greateſt perfection in that ſeparation of office, in that diſtribution of privilege and function, which have rendered the Britiſh Conſtitution the ſource of freedom, of felicity, and of glory, to this country—the envy of the reſt of the world, and the maſter-piece to which all rational friends of Liberty throughout the globe look up, as to a matchleſs model for imitation. Mr. Paine, however, endeavours to avail himſelf of the moſt oppoſite ſentiments for the purpoſe of exciting diſcontent. He firſt repreſents Government as unneceſſary, in order, if poſſible, to make ſome of his readers indifferent to the preſervation of that which actually exiſts; but leſt he ſhould fail in this attempt, he next appears the advocate for a regular conſtitution, and in this character, in order to take another chance of raiſing diſſatisfaction, he gravely aſſerts, that in this country, notwithſtanding all we ſee and feel, we have at this hour no Conſtitution at all! Why did he not at the ſame time tell us, that we have no ſhowers and no ſun ſhine? Such an aſſertion would not be more contradictory to common ſenſe and daily experience.

Mr. Paine vainly endeavours to fix an odium upon ſubſiſting Governments by recalling to mind the temporary deviations from firſt principles which occurred in early periods of our hiſtory. But the recollection of the Norman Tyranny, of the Foreſt Cruelties, and the Curfew Bell, ſerves, by way of contraſt, to attach us the more firmly to the ſyſtem of ſecurity we now enjoy againſt the repetition of ſuch grievous oppreſſions. Our Conſtitution is not (as this writer would fain inſinuate) founded on ſuch a baſis. We can trace its *ſtamina* much higher. The Norman Conqueſt did but retard its growth, and for a time check its principles from expanding; but did not deſtroy, or even ultimately weaken, the beneficial energy of thoſe principles. Through the rapacity and oppreſſive deſpotiſm of the firſt Monarchs of that line, we can connect ſome of our deareſt privileges with the names of an ALFRED and an EDWARD. Having

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by its native vigour recovered from a malady which ſeemed for a while to threaten its exiſtence, the Conſtitution has ſince, from time to time, been deriving new acceſſions of ſtrength; and we hardly know whether to admire moſt the beautiful ſimplicity it diſplayed in its infant ſtate, or the value and importance of thoſe advantages which it gradually obtained and ſecured, as circumſtances pointed out their neceſſity. Even perfect as it may now appear, the time may come, when further improvements may be ſuggeſted by further experience. For who will ſay, that any human inſtitution can be at any time at the *ne plus ultra* of perfection? Let us not, however, be inſenſible of the advantage, that, inſtead of having to ſubvert, aboliſh, or expunge, our pleaſing taſk is to ſecure, to guard, to poliſh, and to beautify; and let us cautiouſly refrain from tampering with a ſyſtem ſo admirable in theory, ſo excellent in practice. There is nothing, however valuable, that the injudicious meddler may not ſpoil; but what madneſs would it be to ſacrifice, in one raſh moment, all the advantages which have been obtained during a ſucceſſion of ages; and, as our author adviſes, to "begin anew:" that is to ſay, to loſe all the ground we have gained—to give up our hold of all that we poſſeſs—to part with the ſubſtance for the ſhadow—and to plunge from the happy ſtate of Law and Liberty into the chaotic abyſs of anarchy and confuſion.

After his firſt aſſault on Government in general, and his abſurd complaint of the entire want of a Conſtitution in Great Britain, our author proceeds to attack the exiſting Governments in the detail. And it ſeems that the Monarchical form excites his keeneſt vengeance. Nor is this much to be wondered at. For, beſides that it is the moſt vigorous form in which Government can appear, and perhaps the only one which can effectually repreſs violence and outrage in any extenſive community, Monarchy in this country is the principle which gives activity and energy to the whole ſyſtem; and it is perhaps peculiarly obnoxious to ſuch writers as theſe, becauſe it is a part of the regal prerogative to be the fountain of juſtice, and the ſpring which puts the laws into execution. This is an unpardonable offence—and no pains are ſpared to repreſent Royalty as an odious and an uſeleſs inſtitution, conſiſting merely of outward pomp and unneceſſary parade, and attended with grievous and unprofitable expence. Endleſs changes are rung upon the abſurdity of beſtowing a Million a-year upon a ſingle individual. Mr. Paine muſt have a very contemptible opinion of the underſtandings of Engliſhmen, if he thinks they can be impoſed upon by ſuch fallacious ſuggeſtions (reaſonings they certainly are not). Does he conceive there is not ſenſe enough in this country to diſcover that the yearly ſtipend he alludes to is paid, not to the man, but to the office—not as a ſinecure gratuity, but for the moſt eſſential and important functions, by the exerciſe of which we are all benefited?—that it is not given to the individual for his own particular uſe, but entruſted to him, as the firſt Magiſtrate of the country, to be applied to the ſupport of the various branches of executive Government, which are neceſſary for the adminiſtration of public affairs either at home or abroad? Theſe expences are not merely perſonal to the King, nor are they confined to the ſupport of a numerous family and an extenſive houſhold, and

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the maintenance of that external dignity which is connected with the diſcharge of the duties of his office, and is therefore more important to his ſubjects than himſelf. The ſame fund defrays the ſalaries of the Judges, and of the various other Officers of Juſtice—the appointments of Foreign Ambaſſadors—of the Officers of State—and of the perſons who fill all the ſubordinate ſituations in the various and extenſive departments of Government, as well as penſions to a large amount given either as a relief for diſtreſs, or as a reward for public ſervices*. Although Mr. Paine may chuſe to conſider the Crown only as a "Metaphor ſhewn at the Tower for ſixpence or a ſhilling a piece," we know and value the ſtrength and vigour of our Monarchy; we feel that its intereſts are but reciprocal with thoſe of the country; we eſteem thoſe uſeful and efficient prerogatives with which the Conſtitution has inveſted our King as a grand ſource, and as an eſſential ſecurity of our national conſequence and felicity; and we ſee with admiration the exerciſe of thoſe prerogatives ſo wiſely and cautiouſly guarded as to render it impoſſible they ſhould be abuſed to the detriment of our liberties. Accordingly, we are ſo far from grudging the liberal allowance which we preſent by our repreſentatives, at the commencement of each reign, for the ſupport of the regal dignity, as well as for the various charges on the Civil Liſt, that we think no money can be better beſtowed.

Another quality of the Monarchy which gives great offence to Mr. Paine, is its hereditary nature. This is equally eaſy to be accounted for. The buſtle, the ſtrife, the confuſion, the intrigues, and the cabal, the plots, and the counter-plots, which are ſure to attend the election of a King, would be replete with entertainment and gratification to thoſe whoſe turn of mind or of politics leads them to favour ſuch ſcenes. But thoſe who prefer a tranquil inſtantaneous ſucceſſion to a violent or bloody election—thoſe who think a regular and uninterrupted continuation of the functions of Government preferable to their occaſional ſuſpenſion—thoſe who had rather be governed by a Monarch in a courſe of deſcent from an ancient and beloved race, than by one impoſed upon them by the ſtrength or addreſs of a party, or by force of arms (which muſt ever be the caſe in an elective Monarchy, ſuch perſons, I ſay, will rejoice in the hereditary nature of the Crown; not to mention that the convulſion neceſſarily produced by a regal election would diſturb and unhinge the whole machine of the Conſtitution. The inconveniencies to which our author refers as ariſing from the nonage, idiotcy, or other incapacity of the perſon on whom a Crown may devolve in an in-

* Before the preſent reign the fund appropriated to the Civil Liſt was compoſed of divers hereditary branches of revenue, of an uncertain amount, but producing annually in the laſt reign almoſt a million. His preſent Majeſty, ſoon after his acceſſion, of his own accord, moſt liberally ſurrendered to the public uſe this hereditary and improving income, and agreed to accept, as his Civil Liſt, the limited ſum of £00,000l. which, proving inadequate, has ſince been augmented to 900,000l. per ann.; and the revenues that he has thus abandoned have ſince increaſed ſo much that they now produce upwards of 1,400,000l. annually. Thus, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of every article of expence, and the proportionate diminution in the value of money, his preſent Majeſty, with a very numerous family, has really a leſs income than was enjoyed by his Royal Grandfather, and the public has gained half a million per ann. by the above-mentioned diſintereſted conduct.

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variable courſe of deſcent, cannot exiſt, where, as in this country, the power of Parliament extends to provide againſt ſuch caſes: and as to the objections which he urges againſt an hereditary ſucceſſion to the Crown, on account of the poſſible prevalence of perſonal ambition, or of a tyrannical diſpoſition, in the character of the reigning monarch, they are comparatively of little weight where the powers of the Crown are ſo limited by, ſo connected with, and ſo dependant upon, the other powers known to the Conſtitution of this country. At a time when the exerciſe of the kingly powers was free from those important checks which have been ſince interpoſed (for many of our moſt valued ſecurities have been obtained within little more than a century), this nation proved that it was out of the power of the monarch to violate or alter the Conſtitution, and to diminiſh the Liberties of the people. In ſhort, our monarchy, although in its principle hereditary, yet it is by no means indefeaſibly ſo, there being a power in Parliament to paſs over, for ſufficient cauſe, an individual who may for any cauſe be evidently unfit to ſucceed; deviating, however, no further than neceſſity requires, from the ſtrict line of ſucceſſion. And however the exerciſe of deſpotiſm may tend to corrupt the heart or contract the underſtanding, the ſituation and the limited though reſpectable authority of a King of England are calculated to inſtil into his mind principles of public virtue, to form him to the habits of good government, to enlarge his underſtanding, to cultivate in him a regard for the real and permanent intereſts of his people, and to render him the moſt benevolent and uſeful of human beings, "a Patriot Prince!"

It muſt alſo be remarked, that the objections ariſing from the perſonal qualities of the Monarch are ſo far from being confined to hereditary ſucceſſion, that they are in fact more likely to occur, and in no degree more eaſy to be guarded againſt, in elective monarchies. The experience of the world, correſponding with the nature of things, informs us, that the competition for a Crown has oftener been decided by force or intrigue, and by thoſe qualities with which they are generally connected, than by the influence of perſonal merit; and that, whatever may be the fluctuations of character or talents in any particular family, hereditary ſucceſſion is on the whole much more likely to furniſh Sovereigns qualified and diſpoſed to promote the happineſs of their ſubjects, than the caprice, tumult, and diſorder of popular election, where the conteſt is frequently decided by violence in favour of unprincipled ambition, or where thoſe who are unable to ſucceed in their own perſons unite in ſupporting ſome nominal Sovereign, whom, from his weakness and incapacity, they think themſelves likely to govern.

Mr. Paine having laboured, though I truſt very unſucceſsfully, to create a prejudice againſt the Crown of this kingdom, he next endeavours, with much malignant ſcurrility, to ſeduce the affections of a loyal people from the Sovereign on the throne. He wiſhes to weaken the attachment ſubſiſting between this Prince and his people, by repreſenting the royal lineage as connected by very ſlender ties with the country, and as proceeding from a foreign ſtock, recently imported, by an injudicious choice, to govern a country to which it was before a ſtranger. How falſe, how inſolent to Britons, are

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ſuch inſinuations! Does this vain and malevolent writer fancy it to be in his power to make us forget, that the Sovereign who is dear to our hearts, both for his perſonal virtues and for the attachment he has always ſhewn to the Conſtitution, is alſo the deſcendant of the Original Founder of the Britiſh Monarchy? The various channels through which the royal blood has flowed for nearly one thouſand years, are at length happily united in an alluſtrious Proteſtant line; and the ancient Crown of this kingdom is now worn, with hereditary right, by a Prince, who, while he ſits on the throne of his anceſtors, reigns with more unlimited ſway in the affections of his ſubjects.

Neither can it be in the power of wanton and licentious indecency to ſtifle our attachment to perſons and families whoſe memory ought ever to be dear to Engliſhmen. It is not, ſurely, for malice and miſrepreſentation to make us forget, that tht Houſes of ORANGE and BRUNSWICK have rendered us eſſential ſervices at critical times, and that to them, under Providence, we are indebted for the continued enjoyment of privileges which diſtinguiſh us from the reſt of the world. Such names have been hitherto mentioned with veneration by our moſt ardent and enlightened patriots: ſuch names will continue to be venerated by all who, being rationally as well as fervently attached to the Conſtitution itſelf, cannot remember with indifference thoſe perſons and families which have been the inſtruments of its preſervation.

It may not be inapplicable here to obſerve, that nothing can be more different from a pure and generous ſpirit of real patriotiſm, than that coarſe and illiberal diſpoſition which delights in abuſe and invective againſt all perſons inveſted with power and authority. The former can even oppoſe with reſpect, and will render ſerious and determined reſiſtance ſhould that ever become neceſſary for good purpoſes) more weighty and efficacious, by the dignified decency from which it never departs: the latter appears to place its principal gratification in railing againſt the higher powers: it ſeems to depend for perſonal conſequence upon attacking the dignity of ſuperiors: and wiſhes it to be conſidered as a proof of magnanimity and independent ſpirit, boldly to treat with groſs ſcurrility characters and ſituations which the reſt of the world look up to with reſpect: and, like the unbluſhing profligate, it delights to wound and to torture the feelings of thoſe who retain a ſenſe of propriety.

What can be more baſe and ungenerous than the diſpoſition I allude to? The order of civil ſociety (partaking of the invariable principle of nature itſelf) requires a progreſſive gradation: but the higheſt ranks, expoſed as they are by their elevation to the ſhafts of malice and envy, are little coveted by the unprejudiced philoſophical mind, that juſtly appreciates the advantages and diſadvantages of reſpective ſituations. The ſtation of Royalty itſelf, with all the dazzling glare which ſurrounds it, is far from being enviable: arduous as it is elevated—the ſymbol of power, but clogged with reſtraints unknown to inferior rank—impeded in the enjoyment of numberleſs individual comforts—debarred even of ſome of the moſt common, and at the ſame time the moſt valuable privileges of nature—ſhackled with forms and ceremonies—conſpicuous always by the blaze of its own

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rays, and precluded from the delicious gratifications that belong to ſecluſion and privacy—beſet with anxious cares, and eminently expoſed to calumny, to plots, and conſpiracies—while the high and important office of King, for the ſake of the public good, calls for ſuch ſacrifices from the Man, how unworthy and ungenerous muſt it be to delight in wounding his perſonal feelings, and in planting his Crown with additional thorns? How much more conſiſtent with the duty as well as the intereſt of ſubjects, to alleviate his cares, and to ſmooth his rugged path by demonſtrations of fidelity, loyalty, and affection! It is not by indulging ſuch ſentiments under a mild and a juſt Government, that we ſhall be either pledged or diſpoſed to ſubmit to oppreſſion. The feeling, the generous, and the loyal character would be the moſt ſtrenuous, and the moſt manly, in defence of its rights, and of thoſe of the country at large. A nation ſo compoſed would be the laſt to be attacked, but would never be enſlaved; for the rational loyalty of a free people is itſelf a bulwark of their freedom, and by uniting them cloſely together in one common ſentiment, as well as one common intereſt, preſerves concord and happineſs at home, while it creates conſequence and reſpectability abroad*.

It is one of the bleſſings of this country to have a monarch who reigns not only the King but the fond father of his people; while their cheerful and affectionate loyalty conſtitutes the happineſs of his life, the chief glory of his Crown, and the ſtrength, proſperity, and ſplendour of the nation.

And ſhall we, while the gloom, the diſmay, and the univerſal ſtagnation, occaſioned by the yet recent malady of our common Father are freſh in our recollection—while our hearts ſtill vibrate with the tranſports of joy which aſſailed us on his welcome and almoſt unexpected recovery—ſhall we countenance the moſt audacious inſults on his perſon, and the moſt malignant attacks upon his Crown? Or ſhall we demonſtrate our attachment to himſelf and his family, by conſigning the authors of ſuch attempts to their proper ſtation of contempt and infamy?

As the direct way to demoliſh any building is, Sampſon-like, to pull down the pillars by which it is ſupported; in order to aboliſh Monarchy, it is found expedient to attack the ariſtocratical branch of government†. Hence a violent outcry againſt orders of Nobility naturally forms a part of the ſyſtem to the introduction of which Mr. Paine's writings are directed. He ſeems very deſirous that his

* In the year 1771, the Rev. Mr. HORNE expreſſed himſelf as follows: "I would offend the Sovereign with as much reluctance as the parent."—Whoever or whatever "is Sovereign, demands the reſpect and ſupport of the people. The union is formed "for their happineſs, which cannot be had without mutual reſpect; and he counſels "maliciouſly who would perſuade either to a wanton breach of it."—It is to be hoped, that in 1792 JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Eſq; is under the influence of the ſame ſentiments.

† Thus, in the laſt century, when a ſmall portion of the Commons, by the aid of military force, had uſurped the ſupreme power, covering their deſigns under the ſtale, and generally falſe pretext of the authority of the People, they ſtill found that the exiſtence of a Houſe of Peers, diſheartened and almoſt deſerted as that aſſembly then was, formed nevertheleſs a barrier to the completion of their crimes;—and accordingly they thought it neceſſary to annul, by a vote, the authority of that Houſe, before they could proceed upon the deteſtable and infamous plan of murdering their Sovereign under mock forms of law.

readers ſhould conſider the rank of Nobility as conſiſting merely in a frivolous exterior diſtinction, in " ribbands, garters, and nicknames *;" another inſult on the underſtanding and experience of Engliſhmen; who know, by the aid of both, that a mixed Government and limited Monarchy require not only a gradation of rank, but alſo an intermediate legiſlative order, interpoſed between the Monarch and the popular repreſentative, which, depending for its own preſervation on that of the other two branches, is rendered thereby the natural guardian of both, and an inſuperable barrier againſt the encroachment of either.

The people of this country are by no means ſuch ſuperficial obſervers as Mr. Paine ſuppoſes or wiſhes them to be.—Far from confining their attention to externals, they can ſee that the pomp and ſplendour annexed to the rank of Engliſh Nobility, are but appendages to a high ſituation and to important public duties both of the legiſlative and judicial kind. Such a ſituation and ſuch duties ſhould ſurely be ever accompanied with ſomething to impreſs the ſenſes: for it is not in the nature of man to be always engaged in abſtract operations. Nor is this Order, with us, poſſeſſed of any peculiar privileges, but ſuch as are requiſite for the free and beneficial exerciſe of thoſe functions, which it poſſeſſes for the good of the whole. In every other reſpect, the Peer and the Peaſant are under the equal adminiſtration of equal laws, which know not any difference between them in regard to thoſe important rights which are founded in nature, and to ſecure which is the grand object of ſociety.

From ſuch a community of intereſt with perſons of this elevated ſtation, who would be equally injured with ourſelves by any infringement on the rights of the ſubject, we derive an important additional ſecurity for the preſervation of our liberties. And thus the Peers of Great Britain, though not actually deputed, do virtually poſſeſs a repreſentative character, obliging them cautiouſly and firmly to protect thoſe rights which they enjoy in common, and which they can enjoy only in common with the People at large; while the exiſtence of ſuch a rank in the State, beſides its other advantages, is conducive to the promotion of a ſpirit of virtuous enterprize and of honourable emulation; and its hereditary nature is neceſſary both to render it independent of the Crown, and to inſure its ſtability and its permanence.

Mr. Paine, in his endeavours to create a prejudice againſt Monarchy and Ariſtocracy, retails very artfully the common-place topics of objection to which each is liable in its ſimple form; and he as artfully avoids all mention of the diſadvantages attending a Government conſiſting ſolely of a Democratic repreſentation. But it might not be unfair to aſk him, Whether in that beverage of which perhaps his libations are ſometimes compoſed, he finds that the ſpirit and the limpid element, the ſweet and the acid ingredients, do each retain the ſame preciſe properties when combined together, which they ſeverally poſſeſſed in their ſeparate and independent ſtate? or, Whether they are not blended that each may modify and correct the other, and that a new and agreeable effect may be produced from the union? The alluſion is a very familiar one, but I hope excuſable if

* Mr. Paine's ingenious definition for the term " Title,"

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found to be apposite. The Government of this country is compounded of those three forms in which alone Government has ever appeared, and which have ever proved highly objectionable in their sepa-ate exercise; but by blending them together in wise proportions, it secures the advantages of each, while it escapes the inconveniences which they are calculated to produce. It is this union which has caused the happiness and splendour of Great Britain, and which affords a solid and permanent basis for the freedom of its inhabitants: it is this assemblage which has attracted the admiration of the world, and called forth the applauses of those who have been most distinguished for their talents and powers of discrimination.

One of the greatest Political Characters of the present age, whose talents at least nobody will dispute, and who from his recent conduct seems inclined to push his notions of Liberty at least sufficiently far, thought it nevertheless necessary to vindicate himself from the suspicion of not affording his entire approbation to that mixture of forms which constitutes the British Government: and in a discussion on the Quebec Bill, in the course of the last Session, he stated it to be his decided opinion, that every simple form of Government, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, was essentially bad; and that there could be no good or complete system of Government without a proper mixture of all three. Such, he observed, had always been his sentiments; and whoever thought otherwise of him, had been mistaken; especially if they thought he was an enemy to Aristocracy: the direct contrary was the fact; and there was no man in that House who considered a proper and well-regulated Aristocracy, *such as formed a part of the British Constitution*, more essential to the formation of a good Government than he did; that a certain degree of Aristocracy was absolutely necessary as a poise between the prerogative of the Crown acting against the rights of the People, and the influence and liberty of the People acting against the Monarchical power; and that therefore a mixture so constituted that each was a check upon the other, he conceived to be the Constitution of this country, and the best Constitution in the world*.

Nor was the testimony of the most enlightened of the Ancients wanting in favour of such a system of Government, in point of principle, long before it was ever reduced into practice. Thus Tacitus regarded the triple form as highly deserving of admiration; but as he could only view it in theory, it appeared to him rather to be coveted and admired than likely to be effected; and as a degree of perfection in Government not likely to be either attained or preserved in practice†. Our long experience has, however, proved that his apprehensions in these respects were unfounded, and in all other respects has confirmed his opinion. Cicero also expressly describes a Constitution similar to ours, though he had never seen it realized, as the most perfect that could be supposed to exist; and he bestows upon it his unqualified applause in terms remarkably apposite and descrip-

* See Mr. Fox's Speech on the Quebec Bill.

† Cunctas nationes et urbes, populos, aut priores, aut singuli regunt; delecta ex his et constituta Reipublicæ forma LAUDARI facilius quam evenire; vel si evenit haud diuturna esse potest.

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tive*. I might alſo adduce other teſtimonies from ancient wiſdom to the ſame purport, were it at all neceſſary.

It is unneceſſary to dwell longer on particular objections, which, when thoroughly underſtood, are not pointed ſo much to the abſtract nature of particular forms of Government, as to the exiſtence of any Government at all; ſo that whatever form might be ſubſtituted, if it were efficacious, and capable of anſwering the purpoſes for which all Governments are eſtabliſhed, the ſame diſſatisfaction and the ſame cavil would enſue: all the old, that is, all the ſubſiſting and long-eſtabliſhed Governments are condemned in the lump; and what is called "the "new repreſentative ſyſtem engrafted on Democracy" is ſtated to be the only good plan of Government. But where upon the whole ſurface of the Globe is this plan reduced into practice? Where does it now exiſt, except in our author's brain? For, according to him, it "rejects Monarchy both elective and hereditary." It muſt alſo, I preſume, reject Ariſtocracy, to which he aſcribes in ſubſtance "the ſame vices and defects" as to Monarchy. Therefore, upon Mr. Paine's own principles, even the form of Government traced out by the New Conſtitution of France†, as well as that now exiſting in America, muſt be radically bad; as being inconſiſtent with his "new (fangled) "repreſentative ſyſtem." For in the former, hereditary Monarchy is ſtill profeſſed to be interwoven, though, for want of an ariſtocratical branch, it has been already ſo much encroached upon, as to be uſeleſs to any ſalutary purpoſe; and the latter country, after a trial for ſeveral years of the pure democratical repreſentative ſyſtem, has found it neceſſary to adopt both Monarchy and Ariſtocracy: for the Preſident, under that denomination, is inveſted with monarchical prerogatives; and the Senate conſtitutes a Middle Chamber: ſo that even American experience contradicts all Mr. Paine's notions of Government‡.

* Statuo eſſe optime conſtitutam rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali optimo et populari, modice confuſa. . . . .

† With reſpect to the French Revolution, which, with all its train of calamities, Mr. Paine would, doubtleſs, be glad to ſee imitated in this country, the People of Great Britain, happy, ſucceſsful, and flouriſhing in their own concerns, have nothing more to do with that event, than as a matter of diſtant, though intereſting obſervation. The miſerable and diſtracted ſtate to which it has brought a once great and flouriſhing kingdom, far from being calculated to recommend the experiment of Revolutions, even in thoſe countries where Deſpotiſm ſtill maintains its ſway, ſerves as a beacon to warn mankind of the danger of raſh innovation, of mad reform, and of viſionary plans of Government. With regard to ourſelves, its peculiar operation ſhould be to make us prize ſtill more highly the ſyſtem of Liberty and of Law, which is ſecured to us by our own excellent Conſtitution. The generous ſympathy of the Engliſh character cannot however but be called forth into emotions of pity and commiſeration, when we behold the extreme confuſion, anarchy, and wretchedneſs, to which, in ſo ſhort a time, our ancient rivals have been reduced! on whom misfortunes, if poſſible, ſtill more ſevere ſeem to impend. But while we thus feelingly and ſincerely lament the diſtreſſes of our neighbours;--and while with moderation we are improving thoſe fair advantages which unavoidably reſult to ourſelves from their calamitous condition; we ſhould ſurely be induced by ſuch conſiderations both to exerciſe redoubled care in preſerving, and alſo to enjoy with increaſed thankfulneſs, that ſerene and proſperous tranquility, foreign and domeſtic, with which Providence ſeems diſpoſed to bleſs this favoured Iſle.

‡ AMERICA, during the ſhort period ſince the eſtabliſhment of her Independence, has found, that the democratic form was not calculated for the government of three millions of people, though ſpread over ſo immenſe a territory; and in the year 1787 ſhe new-modelled her Conſtitution, aſſimilating it, as nearly as circumſtances would allow, to that of Great Britain, by adopting the triple form of Government. In reſpect

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Nor is it probable, that the New Conſtitution of Poland will better accord with our Author's ſentiments; for the Crown of that country, from being elective, has thereby been rendered hereditary, and its prerogatives have been ſtrengthened and enlarged: and what is perhaps *worſt of all*, this change has been brought about without any infringement of order and public tranquility. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that none either of the old or of the new Governments can afford any gratification to Mr. Paine's faſtidious palate! But in ſeven years the ſcene is to be entirely changed; for that is the utmoſt period allowed by his prophetic ſpirit, "for the continuance "of Monarchy or Ariſtocracy in any of the enlightened countries "of Europe."

If Mr. Paine and his advocates ſhould ſtill contend, that this ſyſtem does not go the full length of abſolutely excluding every kind of Government, it would be well if they would agree on the proper denomination of that ſpecies of Goverment which his principles tend to eſtabliſh. Perhaps if any term can be found to deſcribe it, none will accord better than the familiar and homely appellation of *Mob Government*. If the Supreme Authority, appearing in this ſhape, aſſume the name of *Freedom*, it is entitled to do ſo only becauſe it leaves people *free* to do all the miſchief they pleaſe, and reſtrains them merely from doing good.—It aboliſhes all ſubſiſting laws without the delay of a formal repeal; and in lieu of a regular and extenſive ſyſtem, nicely adjuſted and calmly applied to almoſt every caſe that can be the ſubject of legal reference, or that can occur in improved and civilized Society, it ſubſtitutes the caprice and violence of the multitude, and thereby ſuperſedes all the regular forms of juſtice. In other words, it rules by that ſpecies of law which is uſually called the "law of the ſtrongeſt:" a law which, whenever it is exerciſed, abrogates every other, demoliſhes at once all the powers, eſtabliſhments, and inſtitutions which were before recognized, and ſuddenly lays in ruins the former Government, and the entire Conſtitution itſelf.

In a *political* view, this ſyſtem of Government violates and diſſolves all the foreign connections and engagements which nations have formed for their mutual ſecurity, and breaks through every obligation of treaty. The law of nations is held no more ſacred than the law of the land; and while the public faith is broken, the honour of the country is tarniſhed, its weight and reſpectability diminiſhed, and its commerce and revenues annihilated.

In a *domeſtic* view, under ſuch a ſyſtem, all orders will be levelled —all diſtinctions effaced—the rights of property (formerly held ſacred) annulled, and ſecurity and tranquility made to depend on the capricious will of an unreſtrained multitude.

In a *moral* view, all thoſe obligations which have been hitherto

to the Monarchical part, it was to be expected that, like many other new States, ſhe would at firſt fill that office by election; and the General under whoſe conduct ſucceſs had crowned a long and bloody war, was, according to all human experience, the natural object of univerſal and peaceful choice. But when no ſuch ſource of general agreement ſhall exiſt, and when various claimants, prompted by ambition, ſhall be ſupported by claſhing intereſts, the Crown of America, ſhould it continue to preſerve its unity, will probably become hereditary.

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conſidered as ſacred and inviolable will be cancelled. The natural love of our country, together with all ſenſe of duty and gratitude to the ſtate, which protected the otherwiſe defenceleſs moments of birth and infancy, will be extirpated—and an attachment to our native ſoil will no longer prevail. The uſeful impulſes of parental affection and filial duty, of conjugal love, fraternal regard, and friendly attachment, and all the ties which had before connected man with man, and rendered them mutually ſubſervient to each other's felicity, all theſe will give way before a mad and unbridled licentiouſneſs—heating the imagination, intoxicating the mind, inflaming the paſſions, and corrupting the heart.

In a *philoſophical* view, civilization, which had arrived at a high degree of perfection under the genial influence of ſettled government and certain laws, will recede much more rapidly than it had advanced. The decline of literature, the extinction of the arts and ſciences, muſt ſurely follow, when the ſupreme power is in the hands of the illiterate Many; before whoſe Gothic ravages the monuments of fame and merit, the depoſitaries of learning, and the archives of ſcience, will ſpeedily diſappear. The gloom of night will then again ſucceed to the ſplendor of day; barbariſm will revive; and a new age of romantic chivalry will be wanted, as the harbinger and the inſtrument of a more perfect civilization.

Such would be the effects of a Government founded upon Mr. Paine's principles. But it is plain that human nature cannot long ſubſiſt in a ſtate ſo little calculated to provide for its wants and neceſſities. Therefore the Government of the Mob, deſtructive as it is deſpotic, is neceſſarily of very ſhort duration. The bulk of the people ſoon become weary of a condition of ſuch reſtleſſneſs, and pant for quiet and tranquillity. They find that their cauſes of complaint (whether real or imaginary) are alarmingly increaſed; their difficulties greatly augmented, their reſources in proportion diminiſhed, and their enjoyments, their means of ſubſiſtence, nay, even the recompence for bodily labour, and handicraft ſkill, become, like every thing elſe, precarious and inſecure. At length, ſome new combination of power, prompted by ambition, and probably ſupported by thoſe who were foremoſt in the ſubverſion of order and in the clamour for "rights," takes advantage of the harraſſed and enfeebled condition of the country; and after meeting with more or leſs reſiſtance, according to the ſtrength or weakneſs of contending cabals, aſſumes to itſelf unlimited dominion; to preſerve which, it muſt exert the moſt abſolute and deſpotic powers, and rule with a rod of iron. The people, in the mean time, ſuffering from the ravages of ſuch a convulſion, are reduced to ſubmit to a new and galling yoke, which is better only than an entire abſence of all regular Government. Farther than ever from obtaining the privileges held out to them, they find themſelves deſtitute even of thoſe which they had before poſſeſſed; and, having relinquiſhed a ſtate of real comfort and happineſs, they at length, after a long and calamitous ſtruggle, ſink into a miſerable and diſgraceful ſervitude.

What a pleaſing contraſt to ſuch dreadful ſcenes, is to be found in the happy ſtate of this country, where, inſtead of an ungovernable ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, inſpiring terror throughout the land, and making itſelf known by its exceſſes, we ſee the effects of genuine

Liberty operating as a real, an univerſal, and a permanent bleſſing—founded in law—the equal and inviolable birthright of every individual—giving a manlineſs and an energy to the national character, and being the ſource as well as the ſecurity of our greatneſs, proſperity, and happineſs as a people. Who is there, of the moſt clamorous aſſertors of pretended rights, that will point out an inſtance in which the liberty of a ſingle individual can be illegally invaded in this country; Where is the power that can deprive the Britiſh ſubject of the protection of the laws? And ſhall we liſten with complacency to thoſe who counſel us to exchange this ſtate of mild and rational freedom and of tranquil happineſs for ſavage ferociouſneſs, inteſtine diſſentions, and outrageous violence? Shall we claſp the demon of diſcord to our breaſts, even while the fiend is waving the torch of ſedition? No! let us rather ſhew ourſelves deſerving of the name and of the privileges of Engliſhmen, not only by a reſolute defence of our glorious Conſtitution itſelf, but by a marked indignation againſt thoſe who treat it with inſult, or aim at its ſubverſion.

It is one of our peculiar and moſt eſtimable advantages to poſſeſs legal, orderly, and conſtitutional means for the correction as well as the prevention of abuſes; and thereby every motive for violence is obviated, and every excuſe for diſorder taken away. While true to ourſelves, we are invulnerable. Our grand and conſtant object ſhould be to preſerve and enforce the true *ſpirit* of the Conſtitution, and we ſhould reſort to *that* alone for an explanation of our rights; regarding *it* as our Polar ſtar, not only to direct and regulate in all caſes of difficulty and danger, but to be our conſtant and invariable guide thro' every part of our political courſe. We ſhould cautiouſly guard and preſerve the conſtitutional independence of each diſtinct part of our government, and conſider every infringement upon any of their regular functions (whether deliberative or executive) as deranging the balance, and as tending to the deſtruction of the whole machine. Above all, we ſhould be both vigilant and honeſt in the exerciſe of the important duties of electors; and by obſerving and enforcing the many ſalutary regulations which the Legiſlature has interpoſed to check the too prevalent ſpirit of bribery and corruption, we ſhould do all in our power to preſerve the purity and independence of the popular part of our Government. And if, in ſpite of all our care, evils and abuſes ſhould creep in, we ſhould reſort to conſtitutional remedies alone for their correction; and conſider as our worſt foes all who adviſe the application of any means which are not ſo authorized and preſcribed.

It may alſo be of uſe to bear in mind, that the beſt of all poſſible inſtitutions, operating upon a ſubject ſo defective as human nature, muſt ever in point of practice fall ſhort of abſolute theoretical perfection. Such a conſideration will not only preſerve us from viſionary and romantic wiſhes for what is really unattainable (than which nothing can more pervert the proper and uſeful bias of the mind), but it will alſo guide to the real ſource of defects, and to the moſt natural means both of preventing and of counteracting them. Nothing can be more obvious, than that the beneficial energy even of our own excellent Conſtitution will even be checked, in proportion to the prevalence of diſſipation and depravity in the manners and in the minds of the people. Inſtead, therefore, of imputing blame where none is

deſerved,

deſerved, let us trace evils to their actual cauſe, and there apply the remedy. Let every real friend to his Country and its Conſtitution do all in his power, by precept and by example, to inculcate and recommend a ſpirit of order, œconomy, temperance, and induſtry, and the practice of thoſe duties which are preſcribed by morality and religion.—Let him reſiſt as much as he can the increaſe of luxury and diſſipation, which enervate the mind, degrade the character, diſqualify for manly and noble exertions, and open all the ſources of corruption.—Let him, in ſhort, exert himſelf in aid of magiſtracy and the police to check the baneful contagion of vice and immorality, remembering that an independence of mind, ſo congenial to freedom, is alſo nearly allied to purity and ſimplicity of manners.—While the Throne exhibits ſo excellent a pattern of all the virtues which ornament humanity and benefit mankind, how ſhould the influence of the bright and uſeful example be communicated from rank to rank, till it pervade the utmoſt receſſes of ſociety!—Then, indeed, would civil liberty be invigorated and adorned by private virtue and domeſtic happineſs.

I am not now affecting to ſermonize, or even to moralize—I am viewing the matter in a *political* light only.—The *moral* and *religious* diſplay of theſe topics is the peculiar province of the *pulpit*. But their *civil* importance calls for the attention of the ſtateſman, the philanthropiſt, and the citizen. It is poſſible that the depraved manners of a people may not only endanger their freedom, but render it a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing—and liberty by degenerating into licentiouſneſs, becomes its own certain deſtroyer. But without carrying our apprehenſions ſo far, it is a truth which concerns us moſt nearly, and which cannot be too often repeated, that the benefits derived from our CONSTITUTION will exiſt in greater or leſs perfection, in proportion to the prevalence of a virtuous principle among ourſelves: thoſe, therefore, who wiſh for the continued and complete enjoyment of that great and invaluable bleſſing will neglect nothing that can tend to preſerve it in purity and vigour, to enforce its true ſpirit, or to promote the genuine operation of its ſalutary influence!—They will venerate it themſelves, and recommend it by their own example to the veneration of others.—They will inculcate in their children an early and habitual acquaintance with its hiſtory, its nature, and its excellencies, together with a ſteady and rational attachment to its principles.—They will ſupport it, at all times, by a firm and reſolute, though a decent and orderly adherence; knowing that irregularity and violence would involve a direct violation of its ſpirit: and they will, if occaſion ſhould require, be ready with cheerfulneſs to riſk their lives in its defence.

So ſhall the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, the ſuitable and happy portion of thoſe who deſerve to be free, remain firm, immoveable, and unimpaired for ſucceeding ages; ſecure againſt the attacks of viſionary theoriſts and of wicked incendiaries; and uniting within itſelf the ſecurity and energy of a well-regulated Government, and the utmoſt attainable degree of real political LIBERTY.

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